THE MISSISSIPPI TILL CASE

"CAN WE SURVIVE?"
William Faulkner

RACE AND SCIENCE

N. C. CONTROVERSY

PLAYWRIGHT'S VIEW

SOUTHERN SCENE

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New South

September 1955 Vol. 10, No. 9

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Subscription rate ..... $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

New South NOTES

Even so modest a publication as NEW SOUTH has its editorial problems. One of them is deciding how much of our limited space to devote to negative developments and how much to progress.

The problem is particularly acute today when so much is happening in both categories. In the wake of the Supreme Court rulings, the movement toward desegregation is gaining momentum in the states of the upper South and Southwest. In the deeper South, resistance is the order of the day, at least for the time being, and in some cases the tactics of resistance are reaching a new low in intimidation and reprisal.

One acute reader suggests that we supplement NEW SOUTH with a monthly publication titled OLD SOUTH, in which the violent throes of the die-hards might be recorded. More prosaically, however, we will have to do our best to maintain a proper balance of the two within a single set of covers. NEW SOUTH, as the name implies, is dedicated primarily to the job of reporting and interpreting the emergence of a more democratic society in the region. But succeeding issues will also deal with the organizations and methods by which the professional segregationists are trying to exploit the fears and uncertainties of a people in transition.

In prospect are articles on the so-called White Citizens Councils and related groups, an educator's view of the proposed "private school plan," and the high cost of rearguard legal action. In every case, we will try to present the facts, positive or negative, in such a way as to assist those Southerners who want to make the "New South" a reality.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

THE TILL CASE

THE Mississippi kidnap slaying of Emmett Louis Till, 14-year-old Negro youth, is one of those shocking crimes that looses a flood of pent-up public feeling. On the one hand are the Negroes and whites, throughout the country, for whom the brutal killing was a symbolic climax to racist policies that Mississippi's leadership has been flaunting. On the other hand are the segregationists of Mississippi and the deep South generally who have found in the event new cause to denounce the NAACP and critics of other sections.

Much of the dispute has raged around the question of whether or not the crime was a lynching. Both the NAACP and Tuskegee Institute have so classified it. Many Southern editors have angrily rejected the classification, labelling the crime a "simple act of murder." Until and unless more is learned about the circumstances surrounding the slaying, it is hard to see how any hard-and-fast classification can be made.

But does the technical definition of the crime matter? Everyone will concede that the destruction of Emmett Till was a brutal private act. At the time of this writing, two suspects are on trial for it. The alleged motive is that young Till "wolf whistled" at the wife of one of the suspects. If not a lynching, the crime is surely first cousin to one. And we can be certain that the outcome of the trial will be publicized the world around.

Whatever the outcome of this or later trials, however, the one further question will remain: Does the Till slaying have any practical meaning for Mississippi and the South? We think it does.

Six years ago, NEW SOUTH commented: "It should be remembered that a lynching is only an extreme example of a general lack of regard for the individual. The climate which produces lynchings is one of daily insult, intimidation, and the lesser forms of violence, directed against a whole segment of the population."

That is the climate that prevails today in Mississippi and much of the rest of the deep South. Governors, legislators, and lesser officials fill the air with hatred and contempt for law. A few intemperate newspapers trade in inflammatory headlines and editorials. Private associations like the White Citizens Councils preach defiance of the courts and economic death for dissenters. These public officials and their private counterparts preen themselves on their "respectability." They even boast that their form of rabble-rousing and intimidation is necessary to avert a revival of the Ku Klux Klan!

All this amounts to nothing more than a claim that "respectable" demagogues can speak the language of violence without resorting to the physical violence which is its logical consequence. But all people are not equally "respectable." Some respond to the spirit rather than the letter of their leaders' words. When those in positions of authority hold cheap the dignity and rights of Negroes, what could be more natural than the assumption that Negroes' lives are equally cheap? The simple-minded, the confused, the emotionally disturbed people in our society take their cues from above. It is not enough for leadership to be "respectable"; it must also be responsible.

The Till case is a symbol. Defensive Southerners will try to blot out the truth with recriminations. Thoughtful Southerners will try to remedy the public climate which breeds such atrocities before we have more of them.

"Can We Survive?" asks Noted Mississippi Author

By WILLIAM FAULKNER

ROME, Italy—When will we learn that if one county in Mississippi is to survive it will be because all Mississippi survives? That if the State of Mississippi survives, it will be because all America survives? And if America is to survive, the whole white race must survive first?

Because, the whole white race is only one-fourth of the earth's population of white and brown and yellow and black. So, when will we learn that the white man can no longer afford, he simply does not dare, to commit acts which the other three-fourths of the human race can challenge him for, not because the acts are themselves criminal, but simply because the challengers and accusers of the acts are not white in pigment?

Not to speak of the other Aryan peoples who are already the Western world's enemies because of political ideologies. Have we, the white Americans who can commit or condone such acts, forgotten already how only fifteen years ago, what only the Japanese—a mere eighty million inhabitants of an island already insolvent and bankrupt—did to us??

How then can we hope to survive the next Pearl Harbor, if there should be one, with not only all peoples who are not white, but all peoples with political ideologies different from ours arrayed against us—after we have taught them (as we are doing) that when we talk of freedom and liberty, we not only mean neither, we don't even mean security and justice and even the preservation of life for people whose pigmentation is not the same as ours?

And not just the black people in Boer South Africa, but the black people in America too.

Because if we Americans are to survive, it will have to be because we choose and elect and defend to be first of all Americans to present to the world one homogeneous and unbroken front, whether of white Americans or black ones or purple or blue or green.

Perhaps we will find out now whether we are to survive or not. Perhaps the purpose of this sorry and tragic error committed in my native Mississippi by two white adults on an afflicted colored child is to prove to us whether or not we deserve to survive.

Because if we in America have reached that point in our desperate culture when we must murder children, no matter for what reason or what color, we don't deserve to survive, and probably won't.

RACIAL SUPERIORITY IS A MYTH

IT HAS BEEN some years now since the myth of superior and inferior races received a death blow at the hands of science. Studies by anthropologists and biologists have completely exploded the old notion that intelligence, ability, and character are related to race. Rather, such average differences as exist between racial groups is explained in terms of differing economic, educational, and cultural opportunities.

Within recent months, however, the last-ditch defenders of segregation have sought to revive the discredited cult of the "master race." Leaflets solemnly setting forth "evidence" of the Negro's innate inferiority have been showered on legislators and others in leadership positions in the deep South. This brief summary of scientific findings on race and race differences is presented in the hope that it may serve as an antidote to the pseudo-science with which the white supremacists seek to poison the mind of the South. Several helpful books are listed in an adjoining column for those readers who would like to explore the subject in more detail.

Since both science and religion assure us that we spring from a common ancestor, how then did the different races come about? Moving from a basic definition of race, let us examine the scientific concepts of race, how races evolved, what race means today, and the differences apparent between the races.

J. B. S. Haldane, a geneticist, tells us that race is "a group which shares in common a certain set of innate physical characters and a geographical origin within a certain area." Other scientists, with knowledge gained from years of careful study, tell us that all men possess the same fundamental characteristics as their common ancestor, Early Man. Basically then, the structure of men of all races is the same. It is only certain physical features that differ. How came these differences? Considering the differences, is there a so-called pure race? Are there absolute and unchangeable race differences?

First, let us trace the history of how the differences came about.

The bodies of all human beings are composed of units called cells. A cell is the elementary unit of protoplasm, the essential substance of all living plants and animals. In the cell are chromosomes, elongated bodies visible only under a microscope. Arranged on the chromosomes are unchanging and unblending particles called genes. It is the genes which determine our hereditary fate. Each corresponding human cell, regardless of race, has the same number of chromosomes.

It was the scientist Mendel who first discovered that blood has nothing to

do with inherited characteristics. Mendel's experiments made possible our present knowledge of heredity and the potentiality of people, plants, and animals. Today, it is agreed that it is the gene which determines the potentiality, and the environment which determines what form these potentialities will take.

When the male and female sex cells combine to form a new cell and initiate the growth of a new human being, corresponding genes or combinations of genes are paired off to form physical characteristics. Contrary to early beliefs, however, these characteristics do not come from a blending of characteristics of the parents. Instead, the dominant genes of the new cell determine individual characteristics of the offspring. Consequently, the new baby may inherit physical characteristics of any of its ancestors, depending on the type of genes contained in the fertilizing sex cell of the male and the egg of the female.

Accepting the premise that we all come from a common ancestor, something has operated to effect physical changes. According to the scientists, these changes came over a period of many years and can best be described by the series of words—mutation, selection, adaptation, migration, isolation.

Initial Change

The gene is not only durable but usually self-perpetuating. Occasionally, however, when an old gene makes a new one, the new one is a little different and may produce a slightly different effect. This process is called mutation. No one has been able to explain this change or give sufficient reason why it occurs; but in every case, each such change brings about only slight difference from the ancestors of the new offspring.

Mutation operated first to change certain physical traits, and then selection followed to aid in developing races. Suppose Early Man was light-skinned and, through mutation, a darker-skinned child was born. Darker-skinned people can stand hotter climates; and if the people lived in a land where the climate was extremely hot, natural selection would favor the darker-skinned individuals. The lighter-skinned individuals would tend to migrate or die out. In a cold climate, of course, the process of selection would be the exact reverse.

Migration

Following selection or coupled with it, adaptation and migration further the process of race development. Suppose a few light-haired people, through mutation, appeared in a populace of predominantly dark-haired people. There is always the chance that no light-haired people would be included in a group that goes off to settle in a new place. If there were four people—a light-haired man and woman and a dark-haired man and woman—it might easily happen that the couples would pair off according to hair color. Then, through isolation, the original couples would become the ancestors of two different tribes, one of light-haired people and one of dark-haired people. These "racial" tribes would develop, not because there was any advantage in either hair color, but purely by accident.

Professor L. C. Dunn, professor of zoology at Columbia University, says "geographical isolation has undoubtedly been the great race-maker." Continued migration reinforced the initial biological changes which had begun to pro-

duce groups with distinctive traits; and as one cluster of dark-skinned people developed in Africa, a group of yellow-skinned people in northeast Asia, and white-skinned people in Europe, isolation became the prime factor in race development. As the distance between the migrating groups became greater and intermarriage between the groups less possible, the new genes duplicated themselves from one generation to another and, without influence from other gene pools, became more distinctive of the separate peoples. Thus were the major races formed.

Classifications

Most scientists classify the earth's people into three different races, Caucasoid, Negroid, and Mongoloid; but others prefer to think of five major groups of races. The latter classify the Bushmen and the Hottentots into one group, and the aboriginal Australians and the Veddas as another separate group. Each racial group is identified by a list of physical qualities supposedly peculiar to the group. But because there are border-line groups and border-line individuals, it is impossible to agree upon a completely objective list of races. Although distinctive traits appear more often among the member of the major groups in which they belong, in every major race there are some individuals and groups who share one or more traits with another race than their own. For example, although light-colored skin is a common characteristic for Europeans, slanting eyes for Mongolians, and wooly hair for Negroes, all these traits appear in other races.

The evidence should demonstrate that only communities whose extreme isolation has caused generations of inbreeding could constitute anything like a "pure race." And even in such a community, racial charactertistics are never completely uniform.

The way in which races develop is evidence in itself that there are no absolute and unchangeable racial differences. Isolation tends to lessen change; but even in such cases, gene mutation can change racial characteristics. One of the most striking examples of apparent gene mutation was recorded in Norway when wooly hair appeared in a populace which had long been composed entirely of straight-haired people. Then, too, with the coming of transportation and "modern-day migration," once isolated gene pools are now being re-distributed.

The myth of racial superiority is often based on so-called "blood lines." As previously indicated, blood has nothing to do with heredity. Scientists do tell us that there are four different types of human blood, but each of the four types exist in all racial groups. Indeed, the percentages of the blood types for Negro citizens of the United States are very close to the percentages for white citizens, and the percentages vary only slightly from those for Congo Negroes. Scientists now know that as long as the blood types are compatible, blood transfusion can take place across racial lines as easily as within a racial group.

Intelligence

What makes us intelligent? The argument concerning heredity and environment is an old and involved one, but generally it is conceded today that a combination of the two gives us our intelligence. Tests with both identical and fraternal twins support this theory. Fraternal twins result when two different

eggs, which happen to be present instead of one, are fertilized; and identical twins result when one egg after fertilization separates into two parts and each part becomes one of the twins. Fraternal twins are like any ordinary brothers and sisters, with the exception that they are born at the same time, but identical twins are the production of two copies of one person, and have exactly the same genes. Any differences between the identical twins, therefore, cannot be due to heredity.

Scores on intelligence tests given to identical twins usually are close, if not the same, while results of tests given to fraternal twins often vary greatly. However, when identical twins are separated at birth, results of intelligence tests usually vary. In cases where identical twins are separated and one is reared in a rural atmosphere and the other in urban surroundings, the twin living in the city consistently has made higher scores than the twin in rural surroundings. This does not indicate that the city twin is more intelligent, but that tests measure the kind of knowledge which is more accessible to a child in a city atmosphere than in a rural environment.

Racial Tests

A fair picture of how races compare in intelligence as measured by tests can only be obtained through working with groups in the same environment. In New York City, according to a pamphlet distributed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 500 gifted children were selected on the basis of intelligence tests given throughout the city. When the 500 were examined according to race and religious and national backgrounds, the distribution was approximately the same as that of the population of New York City as a whole. That is, about 10 per cent of the 500 were Negro children, corresponding to the 10 per cent Negro population at large.

FOR FURTHER READING

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HOWELLS, William. *Mankind So Far*, Doubleday and Company, Inc., New York, 1947, Sigma Books Ltd., London, 1947. The story of the evolution of man in simple language.

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Other tests measuring purely racial differences have pointed to the fact that there is a wide range of intellectual ability within each racial, religious, and national group. In the U. S., the study reports, some groups of Negro recruits from the North were found to be more literate than some groups of whites. This simply means that when either group, Negro or white, is placed in a superior economic and educational environment, the average score on mental tests tends to rise; when either group lives in an inferior economic and educational environment, the scores tend to remain low. Differences in ability among individuals of the same race are greater than the difference between the averages of any two races.

Culture is another "weapon" used by

(*Continued on page* 12)

Can North Carolina Have "Voluntary" Segregation?

YES, says Governor Luther H. Hodges:

THE ultimate effects of the Supreme Court's decision on North Carolina can now be fairly well determined. This decision indirectly informs us that within the next few years our efforts expended with so much sacrifice to provide separate but equal educational opportunities for the races in order that we might maintain the older culture of the white race and encourage the growth of the new and rapidly developing culture of the Negro race are to be undone unless we can through good will and pride in the integrity of our respective racial cultures and way of life, continue our separate schools voluntarily.

It is my sincere and abiding hope that we can do this.

Let us look at the situation squarely and directly. Let us realize with full knowledge that if we are not able to succeed in a program of voluntary separate school attendance, the state within the next year or so will be face to face with deciding the issue of whether it shall have some form of integrated public schools or shall abandon its public schools. And let me express something there with all the seriousness of which I am capable: citizens or organizations that attempt to force us into deciding this issue will, in my opinion, have done North Carolina the greatest disservice ever done it in the 100 years of its existence as a state. . . .

Now let me put the issue to you (Negro citizens) substantially as it was put in a recent editorial appearing in one of the state's newspapers—that is, purely on the basis of your own self-interest in your own children. Put on this basis your problem and the problem of our true leaders is this: How can you get the best education for your children? Can you do it by mixing them in the public schools through force of law and risking the abandonment of the public schools? Or through having them attend separate schools by choice?

If the choice is for voluntary separate school attendance, you can count on at least as good an education for your children as they are getting now. If our past experience is any teacher, your schools will become progressively better as facilities are increased and teaching improves. . . .

Abolition of the public schools and their replacement to a most uncertain extent by private ones is a last-ditch and double-edged weapon. If that weapon is ever used in North Carolina, its result will be appalling in ignorance, poverty and bitterness. Generations of both races will suffer by it immeasurably, and it is likely that the Negro citizens will suffer most. . . .

And so my earnest request of you Negro citizens of North Carolina is this: do not allow any militant and selfish

organization to stampede you into refusal to go along with this program I am proposing in the interest of our public schools; take pride in your race by attending your own schools; and make it clear that any among you who refuse to cooperate in this effort to save our public school system are not to be applauded but are to be considered as endangering the education of your children and as denying the integrity of the Negro race by refusing to remain in association with it. . . .

NO, SAY NEGRO TEACHERS:

On August 26, North Carolina's Governor Luther H. Hodges urged an audience of Negro teachers, attending a leadership conference of the North Carolina Teachers Association, to support his proposed plan of "voluntary segregation." (See preceding page.) The following day, the Negro teachers group adopted the following resolution.

WHEREAS, varied and sundry representations have been made purporting to express the views of the leadership of colored people engaged in education regarding integration, and

Whereas, there is some question as to whether these representations have actually reflected the opinion of the deliberate bodies of colored leaders, and

Whereas, it seems probable that other statements may be published in the future purporting to express the views of colored leadership in North Carolina;

Be it resolved, that the following is a statement of policy recommended by this conference regarding integration in public schools.

We heartily endorse the Supreme Court's decisions of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, as being just, courageous and timely.

All good citizens have a solemn obligation to abide by the law. As professional educators, our obligation in this regard is even more impelling.

The world situation, in which democracy is being challenged by anti-democratic philosophies demands that America live up to its promises and ideals.

America's greatest potential can never be realized as long as racial barriers can be used to separate and divide her citizens.

We believe in, accept, and endorse the following statement from a resolution adopted by our National Education Association at its 1954 convention held in New York:

"It is the conviction of the Association that all problems of integration in our schools are capable of solution by citizens of intelligence, saneness, and reasonableness working together in the interest of national unity for the common good of all."

There are those who advocate that colored citizens voluntarily submit to segregation. Here we refer to the NEA Handbook, to a statement in 1953 by Edwin McNeill Poteat:

"Freedom is placed in jeopardy more by those who will not exercise it than by those who will not permit it."

As citizens of the State of North Carolina, we feel it should not be requested that we relinquish any one of our constitutional rights for even a minute.

We do not now, nor have we ever subscribed to voluntary segregation, but as good citizens we have abided by segregation because it was the law of our state. Now that the Supreme Court has ruled that this state law is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States it is our conviction that it is inconsistent with

our obligations as good citizens for us to advocate voluntary segregation.

Some North Carolina local school boards have accepted in good faith the responsibility given them by the recent Legislature of North Carolina and are proceeding with plans to implement the Supreme Court's decision. It is our hope that these school boards will receive all possible encouragement from state officials as they proceed with the implementation of the Court's decree of May 31, 1955.

We recommend that local boards use the experiences of school boards in such city areas as Baltimore, the District of Columbia, and St. Louis and in such states as Delaware, West Virginia, Arkansas and others as guides to appropriate action.

"Not the Voice of Leadership"

Following Governor Hodges' statewide appeal for "voluntary segregation," Paul Green, noted author and playwright, made public a telegram that he had sent to his longtime friend, the governor. Following is the full text of the telegram.

Dear Luther:

As an old friend, I want you to know that I was one of the most delighted people in North Carolina when you became our Governor.

I felt that once more we would have a liberal forward-looking chief executive who would lead the state in the way of progress so ably begun by Charles D. Aycock two generations ago.

In a time of crisis he took a brave step forward and the people followed him.

I believed that in this time of present crisis you also would take a second step, carrying on where Aycock left off and facing with courage, patience, tact and good faith the difficult educational task set before you.

From what I knew of you in college and over the years I expected that. Therefore, I was very much saddened and surprised tonight in your radio and television address to hear not the voice of leadership and brave idealism but rather the old familiar message of an ancient and reactionary South. Forgive me, but that is what I heard, though I leaned out hard to listen for something else.

True, the job of carrying forward, however slowly but still carrying forward, the challenging directive of the United States Supreme Court is a tough one. We all know that.

But men grow great on tough jobs and so do states and nations. The names and deeds remembered in history prove that.

No doubt for the time being you will receive many letters and praise for what you said and the program you laid out. But truth still remains the truth, right still the right, justice still remains justice, and human hearts still aspire upward.

I am saying this publicly for conscience sake.

Regretfully,

PAUL GREEN,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

ON THE SOUTHERN SCENE

Of Human Bondage

"Southern school bonds are going begging," reported a recent issue of *Time*. "Reason: threats to get around segregation by abolishing the public school systems have tarnished the traditionally gilt-edged credit of school bonds."

Investors show their doubt of a security, of course, by demanding a higher return—in this case, a higher interest rate on the bonds. According to the press, Florida withdrew more than $10 million worth of school bonds from the market when faced with a demand for 3.11 per cent interest. Presumably, school bonds offered by other Southern states are meeting the same fate.

In the background is the Southern taxpayer. How many millions will he and his children, in the debt-ridden years to come, pay for the irresponsiblity of the "private-school" brand of politicians? Nobody knows, and to date nobody has tried very hard to find out. Like needless expenses of the dual system itself, and costly legal fees for the defense of hopeless segregation cases, the taxpayer never sees the bill—he merely pays it.

Perhaps the reason Southern taxpayers haven't been better informed on this subject is the admirable tact displayed by investors and duly reflected by the press. Last year, for example, banking authorities in Ohio declared Georgia School Building Authority bonds ineligible for portfolios of Ohio banks. The *Journal of Commerce* subsequently reported: "Although Ohio Banking Superintendent Thurman R. Hazard said only that action came after consideration of the nature of the Georgia bonds as investments and declined to tie in the ruling with the threat of private schools, this has been interpreted in many quarters as the main reason for the Ohio decision."

Unfortunately, the "quarters" where this interpretation was done are pretty private, and few Georgians knew what was going on.

Maybe one of our enterprising newspapers will yet give us a break and find out how much white-supremacy politics is costing us. It might be worth a Pulitzer prize.

Private Enterprise Schools

People who support, or even tolerate, the so-called private - school plan shouldn't be surprised to find themselves in motley company. As every literate American knows, there is a well organized campaign in this country to discredit and undermine public education. The prospect of seeing public schools abolished in one or more of the 48 states—for whatever reason—was bound to attract the interest and support of these zealots. The governors of Georgia, Mississippi, and the Carolinas may view private schools as a "last resort" in their efforts to stave off intergration; but to the anti-educationists, the abolition of public schools is an end to be ardently desired.

The latest evidence of this bed-fellowship comes from North Carolina in the form of an editorial in *The Tarheel Banker*, official publication of the state

bankers association. The editor, who later claimed to be speaking only for himself, was inspired by Governor Hodges' warning that public education might have to go if integration is pursued. He wrote as follows:

"Sooner or later Americans will learn that there is nothing sacred about a public school system as such. . . . Education is a commodity which should be made available to every child in America, regardless of race, creed, or color. But we are far from convinced that public schools are the only way to make education available to our people. . . . There is the private enterprise way which offers the same wide horizon for enlightenment. . . . Public schools are a habit with us."

Judging by the reaction to these statements in the North Carolina newspapers, the habit of public education is still strong in the Tarheel state. But Governor Hodges might give some thought to the new kinds of habits he is encouraging.

Hoxie Goes Ahead

In parts of the South today, it takes men of courage to face the task of desegregating schools with the "deliberate speed" called for in the recent Supreme Court ruling. The school board of Hoxie —a small town in east Arkansas—is a case in point.

Hoxie schools hold a summer session beginning in July and continuing until early September. School then is dismissed until the latter part of October so that the children can help pick cotton in the surrounding farm area. Shortly after the Supreme Court's ruling of last May, the Hoxie School Board announced that the local schools would be desegregated beginning July 11.

Hoxie stepped into the national spotlight when 20 Negroes and approximately 1,000 white children registered in the town's previously all-white elementary and high schools. Registration took place smoothly. K. E. Vance, Hoxie school superintendent, said registration "went off just like any opening day." Mrs. Marion Boarman, elementary division supervisor, said, "Everything is in fine order. We knew it would be."

The school term began without incident largely because community leaders had paved the way. Ministers talked to their congregations, and Superintendent Vance reported that white students obviously had received home teachings in acceptance of the desegregation program. True, there were some citizens who, as Rev. W. D. Puckett put it, weren't "taking to it," but the majority approved the move. Even the few who disapproved were not outspoken; the severest critics were outsiders, many of them from Mississippi and Tennessee. Most active in drumming up resistance was an organization calling itself White America, promoted by a raucous band of segregationists in Little Rock.

Although school continued in Hoxie for several weeks without incident, on August 3 some 150 persons met and signed a resolution to boycott the schools until segregation was restored. They also called for the resignation of the five-member school board. Ironically, they cited "unfavorable publicity for Hoxie in the Arkansas and national press," complaining that this publicity had caused "embarrassment" to Hoxie residents traveling in other sections of the country.

Shortly after the boycott was initiated, it appeared that the protestors had won an easy victory. For on August 19, fol-

lowing a called meeting of the school board, Hoxie schools closed two weeks early, in order to allow the board "to give more careful consideration to the solution of the present school problem."

Early in September, however, the board members again proved their merit when, after "careful consideration," they announced themselves "ready and willing" to defend the integration order. Following is the text of their challenge to the trouble-makers:

"A Little Rock (Ark.) attorney and others speaking for an organization called White America, have threatened us many times in the past few weeks with court action, challenging the legality of integration in the Hoxie School District.

"They now have said in a public appearance at Little Rock, they will see to it that not a single white child will attend the Hoxie School as long as it remains integrated.

"From a legal opinion of private counsel and a public opinion of the attorney general of Arkansas, we know that our actions with regard to integration are in accordance with the spirit of the supreme law of this nation.

"Further, our attorneys have told us that, had we not taken this action, it would have been forced upon us by the courts.

"We invite the Little Rock attorney and his clients to declare they too have only peaceful intentions by publicly acknowledging that, if they wish to challenge integration in Hoxie, they will do so in a legal manner in a proper court of law.

"Further, they should also declare that they will accept and abide wholeheartedly, as loyal and patriotic American citizens, by any final decisions the courts may render in their lawsuit challenging integration at Hoxie."

Race and Science

(*Continued from page* 6)

people to claim racial superiority. But one thing on which most historians agree is that there are few examples, if any, of great civilizations which have come about without contact and absorption of other people. The civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, and China did not develop in complete isolation but received important contributions from surrounding groups of people with whom they were in constant contact. Also, evidence points to highly civilized communities having flourished and died out in most sections of the globe, including Africa. There is no evidence that any of the civilizations declined as a result of mixing of the races, but rather as a result of political and economic factors.

Regardless of the rise and fall of civilizations, all that science can and does say today is that no connection has been found between the biological makeup of people and the level of their past or present culture. And, although many people still are not convinced that racial superiority is a myth, even many strong pro-segregationists now reject the idea of superior and inferior races. One of these is the Reverend J. Paul Barrett, who recently spoke out for segregation under the auspices of the States' Rights Council of Georgia. About racial superiority, the Rev. Barrett said, "Thomas Jefferson summed up a great truth when he wrote 'God created all men free and equal.' There is no inferior race nor is there a superior race. There is no Master Race. In God's sight there is no difference between men. . . ." If this be so, as the Reverend Mr. Barrett says and as science says, what then have we to fear?

. . . Unquote

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"We in the United States, whatever our protestations of superior virtue . . . have inherited in great measures the fears and resentments of Asia toward the West. . . . We can make a case for the very mixed benefits of empire and of economic penetration motivated by the desire for gain. Before God and men, we can make no case for contempt and assumptions of racial superiority. These are the deepest roots of our alienation from Asia. For these there is no answer but repentence." — From the pastoral letter of the **House of Bishops** read at the 58th triennial General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

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"Much progress has been made in developing among our pupils, teachers, and citizens an attitude toward the problems of desegregation and integration which has created a climate in which the change from segregation can be made. Let us remember that the first consideration must be the welfare of the children. The simple problem is giving to others the same dignity and respect we cherish for ourselves." — **Dr. Bertis Capehart,** superintendent of schools in Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

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"It is not merely inevitable that we are different and have different views; it is desirable that this should be so. From the clash of opinion truth emerges, and the human race advances.

"Hence the essence of Americanism is discussion. It is not name-calling or suppression. It is certainly not dogma or prejudice. The only political dogma in America is that discussion is the road to progress, that every man is entitled to his own opinions, and that we have to learn to live with those whose opinions differ from our own. After all, they may turn out to be right. . . ." — **Dr. Robert M. Hutchins,** president of the Fund for the Republic.

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"One of the greatest needs of Southern white folks is to get acquainted with Negroes, especially with those who live and move among them in the South. It is a sad indictment of the pattern in this area that often white people of intelligence and importance know so little about Negroes of intelligence and importance and are so prone to judge all members of the race by the experience they have had with a cook, maid, yard man, farm hand or some other Negro working for them in the capacity of a servant. . . .

"If it is important for this country to exchange students with other countries, to have farmers of America exchange visits with farmers of Russia, we think it is high time in the South that some program be put into effect to have white people exchange visits to churches, schools and other places with Negroes. It is our firm belief that such is needed to foster a better understanding between the leaders of both races who in the end have to do with forming and shaping the thinking of the masses." — From an editorial in the Durham, N. C., **Carolina Times.**

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"In trying to enforce a uniform policy and behavior on local communities, we think the States are doing things the hard way. Each community should be allowed to settle its own school problems. Otherwise we run the risk of encountering baffling situations which can only end in vituperation and perhaps violence.

"Meantime the outside world looks on to see what the United States, which boasts of its fair methods and democratic progress, will do. Whether we like it or not, we are on trial." — From an editorial in the Chapel Hill, N. C., **News Leader.**